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EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT THE HAGUE 3735 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO LISBON MOSCOW 25 JUL 75

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 3735

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: ASEC, CSCE, NL

SUBJ: POSSIBLE LEAK OF U.S. CLASSIFIED MATERIAL: U.S. VIEWS

ON CSCE

1. ON JULY 23 EMBASSY RECEIVED A LETTER, ADDRESSED THE PREVIOUS DAY TO AMBASSADOR GOULD, FROM EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF WEEKLY MAGAZINE ELSEVIERS, D.M. VAN ROSMALEN. (ELSEVIERS IS RIGHT-OF-CENTER INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE WITH CIRCULATION OF 133,000. IN FORMAT IT RESEMBLES TIME AND NEWSWEEK.) LETTER, WHICH IS POLITE AND RESPECTFUL, STATES THAT VAN ROSMALEN WOULD BE PUBLISHING A COMMENT ON CSCE WHICH WOULD QUOTE RECENT CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM WRITTEN BY "U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CONFIDENTIAL

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MOSCOW AND ADDRESSED TO THE DEPARTMENT". VAN ROSMALEN EXPLAINS

THAT AFTER REFLECTION HE DECIDED HE WOULD DRAW ON THIS INFORMATION BUT THAT HE WOULD ATTRIBUTE IT ONLY TO "A HIGHLY PLACED AMERICAN WHO WAS A SOVIET EXPERT" AND THUS NOT DISCLOSE IDENTITY OF THE SOURCE. VAN ROSMALEN ALSO STATES THAT HE WONDERED WHETHER TO INFORM AMBASSADOR GOULD IN ADVANCE BUT DECIDED TO TELL HIM ONLY AFTER THE ARTICLE HAD GONE TO PRESS BECAUSE, "AT TIMES IT WAS BETTER FOR A RESPONSIBLE DIPLOMAT NOT TO KNOW." VAN ROSMALEN CONCLUDED WITH AN ASSURANCE THAT THE DOCUMENT DID NOT COME INTO HIS HANDS FROM ANY U.S. SOURCE IN THE NETHERLANDS. ARTICLE APPEARED AS PREDICTED IN JULY 26 ISSUE, AVAILABLE IN NEWSTANDS JULY 24.

- 2. THE ARTICLE ITSELF ISNOT ALL THAT REVEALING. IT OPENS WITH A REFERENCE TO THE APOLLO-SOYUZ EVENT AND DRAWS ON RECENT PRESS STATEMENT BY NETHERLANDS MBFR NEGOTIATOR DE VOS VAN STEENWIJK. (WIRELESS FILE BACKGROUNDER, VIENNA JULY 17) THE BULK OF THE ARTICLE, HOWEVER, IS DEVOOTED TO THE "CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM" OF "ANOTHER PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMAT" WHO IS DESCRIBED AS A HIGHLY PLACED U.S. OFFICIAL. THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY THAT THE WRITER KNOWS THE IDENTITY OF THIS OFFICIAL.
- 3. FOLLOWING ARE POINTS ATTRIBUTED TO THE AMERICAN SOURCE.
- A. THE SOVIETS WILL USE CSCE TO TRUMPET THE CONFIRMATION OF THE POST-WAR SITUATION IN EUROPE. THIS SITUATION INCLUDES ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET DOMINION OVER EASTERN EUROPE.
- B. THE SOVIETS WILL USE CSCE IN LEGITIMIZING GREATER SOVIET PRESENCE IN WESTERN EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS LABOR UNIONS.
- C. THE SOVIETS WILL ADVERTISE THE RESULTS OF HELSINKI AS A SUCCESS FOR THEIR DETENTE POLICY.
- D. IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS AFTER HELSINKI TO INTERFERE WITH FOREIGN BROADCASTS AND TO ISSUE VISAS TO JOURNALISTS OR TO STAND IN THE WAY OF FAMILY REUNIFICATIONS. THE SOVIET UNION WILL ALSO BE LESS NERVOUS ABOUT EAST-WEST CONTACTS, BUT IT MAY BE EXPECTED THAT THEY CONFIDENTIAL.

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WILL TIGHTEN THEIR IDEOLOGIC CONTROL AND DISSIDENTS WILL HAVE A TOUGHER TIME. A CAMPAIGN IS ALREADY UNDERWAY IN EASTERN EUROPE TO COMBAT WESTERN INFLUENCES.

- E. AFTER CSCE THE SOVIETS WILL RESUME THEIR PUSH FOR A WDC, WITH A VIEW TO CEMENTING THEIR MILITARY SUPERIORITY.
- F. ALSO, THE RUSSIANS WILL MAKE CLEAR TO EAST EUROPEAN

LEADERS THAT SOVIET DOMINATION IN EASTERN EUROPE HAS NOW RECEIVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE CALLED TO ORDER AFTER HELSINKI AND THEIR LEADERS WILL NO LONGER HAVE ANY LEG ON WHICH TO STAND.

- G. SOVIETS MAY BE EXPECTED AFTER HELSINKI ALSO TO CALL FOR A SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA. THIS WILL FORCE ASIATIC COUNTRIES TO FOCUS ON THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY AND ENHANCE THE SOVIET ROLE IN ASIAN POLITICS.
- H. CSCE WILL STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF BREZHNEV.
- I. CSCE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE COMPLETED TOO QUICKLY BECAUSE AN UNFINISHED CSCE MIGHT ACT AS A BRAKE ON SOVIET INCLINATIONS TO CAPITALIZE ON SOFT POINTS SUCH AS PORTUGAL AND THE MIDDLE EAST.
- J. WHILE CSCE WILL GIVE GREATER SCOPE TO SOVIET POLICY INITIATIVES, THERE SEEM FOR THE TIME BEING TO BE SUFFICIENT RESTRAINTS TO PREVENT RISKY VENTURES.

ELSEVIERS ARTICLE CONCLUDES BY STATING THAT THERE EVIDENTLY IS CONSIDERABLE U.S. CONCERN ABOUT THE EXPERIMENT AT HELSINKI.

3. NONE OF THESE POINTS SEEM ON THE FACE OF IT TO BE VERY SENSITIVE. MOST OF THEM, IN FACT, ARE IN LINE WITH WHAT WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN SAYING AND WILL PROBABLY BE PREPARED TO SAY ABOUT CSCE ONCE IT IS CONCLUDED. THE SUGGESTION TO HOLD UP COMPLETING CSCE AS A MEANS OF LEVERAGE ON SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN PORTUGAL AND MIDDLE EAST, BESIDES BEING OUT OF

DATE, IS, HOWEVER, UNUSUAL AND SEEMS TO RESEMBLE LINE TAKEN BY DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN LISBON WITH AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI LAST CONFIDENTIAL

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WEEK (LISBON 4008).

- 4. WE PLAN TO REFRAIN FROM ANY COMMENT TO POSSIBLE PRESS INQUIRIES.
- 5. WE PROPOSE NOT TO RESPOND TO ROSMALEN UNTIL WE HAVE THE BENEFIT OF A REACTION FROM THE DEPARTMENT.
- 6. WE ARE POUCHING COPIES OF ARTICLE, AS WELL AS INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION, TO EUR/NE. TANGUY BUNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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	Margaret P.	Grafeld Decla	ssified/Releas	sed US Depa	rtment of Sta	ite EO Syster	natic Review	06 JUL 200)6
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